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THE TIMORESE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
SECRETARIADO INTERNACIONAL TIMORENSE PARA OS DIREITOS HUMANOS

EAST TIMOR

ORAL STATEMENT
PRESENTED BY

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On behalf of
International Justice and Peace Commission

World Conference on Human Rights
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Mr. President and Distinguished Delegation.

Once again the cause of human rights throughout the world is being brought into this body of the United Nations, and to the attention of the world at large, in the search for measures which can help improve a fundamental principle expressed in the Holy Books of all religions and beliefs seeking peace between all men: mutual respect.

The World Conference on Human Rights is now in progress in Vienna, this eternal European capital of civility and music, dear to our hearts and to those who struggle for humanism at all levels around this planet, despite geographical distances and differences in cultures, races and beliefs.

The first precondition to serve the cause of human rights is to listen to our hearts and minds, and to seek the best way to harmonize the conditions necessary to maintain a favorable atmosphere for the world to live in peace and to provide a better life for all.

The basis of a nation is the individual and the family. Without the sacred institution of the family, no nation or group of nations can build strong foundations for religions, states and communities or international organizations. It is important to attend the Human Rights Conference with good will, and not exploit the cause of human rights to inflict unnecessary drama and suffering. An adequate solution is to identify those in need by listening to their own opinions and not to rely on those who intend nothing else than to create endless discussions with the sole intention of presenting unrealistic conceptions of human rights based simply on their unilateral way of thinking and undue subjectivity. This is the case of human rights in East Timor.

I am entitled to speak on the cause of human rights in East Timor as I am the President of the Timorese International Secretariat for Human Rights.

After almost 450 years of Portuguese colonialism, Portugal should not use the existing situation to destroy the peaceful life of my people by feeding hopes and giving advice to provoke confrontation between brothers of the same blood and to disrespect the will of the 98% who consider themselves Indonesian citizens under the administration of the Indonesian State.

Mr. President and Distinguished Delegation.

Allow me to outline briefly the role of FRETILIN/FALINTIL/CNRM in East Timor:

In 1974/1975 FRETILIN was one of the five political parties of East Timor (the others were APODETI, UDT, KOTA and TRABALHISTA) whose origin firstly came from the city of Lisbon during the Portuguese leftist revolution, having entered in Timor through the transformation of ASDT Associacao Social Democrata into FRETILIN, on September 11, 1974. However, with Portuguese aid and certain military support, FRETILIN succeeded in imposing by terror and violence principles totally counter to the free and peaceful life of my people. The FRETILIN slogan for

independence touched the hearts of young people like myself and we opted to go into the mountains and the jungles to struggle for it. People like me survived 10 or more years trying to have the people on our side but we soon understood that our behaviour caused excessive violence which encouraged strong divisions between the guerrilla groups. Operating under FALINTIL forces, many groups or sector commandants did not get the people's sympathy, but on the contrary created serious enmity, particularly against their methods of control and order which resembled the colonialist ways.

Again, like in the times of FRETILIN rule during August-December 1975, FALINTIL was imposing extreme pressure on the people, applying guerrilla philosophies practiced on other continents and totally unsuited to being practiced among our people.

The result was clear: the people wanted to live in peace and harmony and were struggling to heal the wounds from the colonialist and civil war periods. This caused the partition and weakening of the FALINTIL groups to the point where even Commandant Kilik was murdered by his comrades, as he, like myself, opposed sacrificing the people to theories which could not provide freedom and independence for East Timor. The cost of this was unbearable for all those commandants who, after all, loved the people.

FRETILIN had disrespected the lives of many brothers and even managed to scorn its own highest-ranking representatives in a mad march to gain power at all costs.

Some commandants, therefore, concluded that it was better to give up the armed fight and become integrated into society. Today, most former FRETILIN/FALINTIL decision-makers live peacefully, contributing to helping the people become prosperous, educated and respected in Indonesian society.

However, in the new FRETILIN/FALINTIL self-styled body pompously called CNRM (The "National Council of Maubere Resistance"), Mr. Xanana Gusmao and his mates thought that with the help of Portugal and other supporters (precisely the same who contributed to the FRETILIN philosophy used to enslave the people of East Timor) East Timor could somehow become independent and therefore a good stronghold to disturb not only Indonesia but all of Southeast Asia. The old project conceived in 1974, to make East Timor a second Cuba-styled island, was transformed after the disintegration of the Soviet Empire, into a formula of "nationalism forbidden by the Indonesian Administration." Thus, to counterbalance the growing support of the entire population of East Timor for integration into the Indonesian State with all political, social, economic and cultural advantages, facilitated by ancestral blood ties, the CNRM supporters and mentors outside East Timor decided to pursue their dreams of international revolution. It was a tactical and strategic decision to use the cause of human rights for political destabilization. And because the role of the Portuguese government during 1974/1975 was never honestly brought to light, we have now in the international forum a real "masquerade" of a marriage between professional international agitators and Portuguese officials trying to bury the past and act as though they were innocents who never violated human rights in East Timor.

I believe the time has come to say loud and clear: let the people of East Timor develop themselves under the protection of the Indonesian flag and don't impose the will of foreign minority interests, which would only bring more disgrace and suffering.

I understand that the people of East Timor must be heard in the name of human rights. So, let it be that way but without allowing such an important world concern to interfere with their political and legal status as part of the Indonesia people and nation.

To start with, I admit that during the first years following the Act of Integration, the wounds of the civil war caused confrontations between the former political forces; which due to their traditional tendency towards in-fighting also involved the Indonesian forces responsible for citizens' security, who to prevent violations of public order were sometimes forced to violate human rights, as occurs every day all over the world, in places like Los Angeles, Paris or Lisbon.

To say that an East Timorese condemned in a fair trial is brutalized or offended in his dignity is incorrect. We have seen brothers released from jail in good health, enjoying the chance to readapt to East Timorese Indonesian society or even to emigrate to Australia or Portugal, if they prefer.

The incredible statement that 200,000 East Timorese were killed by the Indonesian armed forces is only a product of Portugal-based "internationalists" who need such numbers to win mass media attention for their own ends. The East Timorese population was decimated during the civil war but Indonesia cannot bear responsibility for consequences of Portugal's sudden decision to flee from East Timor in 1975, in the course of a blood bath between the local political parties. The victims of the civil war resulted to a great extent from famine, disease and the lack of medical assistance in a country turned upside-down from one day to the next.

Hundreds or even thousands of East Timorese were victimized during the civil war and its aftermath in which the FRETILIN/FALINTIL played an important role, but never such a ridiculous number as 200,000. Portuguese outsiders, claiming to have a monopoly on the truth, are also seeking to continue their criticism of Indonesia: especially after they heard that East Timor has petroleum reserves suitable for commercial exploitation.

The number of 200,000 Timorese "murdered by Indonesian presence" is a propagandistic manoeuvre of the communists of 1974/1976 who are now disguised as "solidaridade". You know very well that the persons of 1974 from Portugal are the same today, under new masks. You have to explain clearly that before one sole Indonesian soldier arrived in Timor, FRETILIN killed thousands of UDT, KOTAS, Trabalhistas and Apodetis.

If the number of 200,000 victims were accurate, why did it take the government of Portugal 16 years to state it? Why did the same government keep silent in the international forum from 1976 to 1988, if it could prove that 200,000 East Timorese had been killed by Indonesian armed forces? Is it not true, rather, that the government of Portugal desperately needs to lie? After letting time obscure its own criminal responsibilities in international opinion, is not EC-member Portugal taking advantage of the fact that human memory is short and rising from the grave of silence to portray itself

in newspaper headlines and television screens as the Just Inquisitor to judge a cause it itself provoked with criminal intent and actions?

As former colonized Portuguese territory, we are very sad to see the dramatic sufferings of Angola and Mozambique merged in famine, war, death and despair. Also we see the poverty of Cape Vert, S. Thome and Guinea-Bissau. We, therefore, in East Timor feel very lucky and proud to have the Central Government of Indonesia in a continuous 18 years development and our People is no longer illiterate, sick and in starving conditions. On the other hand, as part of the great Indonesian Family and State we breathe Peace, Order, Harmony and Development and this is in fact our independence inside the Independence of Indonesia as a peaceful and prosperous nation ready to contribute to all European needs and European reforms on human rights, so at least we will avoid similar crisis and dramas now in progress in some areas of former Eastern Europe.

In any armed conflict there was always abuse of human rights because this is the evolution of the history of humankind. It is human nature. Let us help the Government of Indonesia to consolidate its Pancasila Humanism and we shall have an Asian State perhaps as a great model to be appointed to other troubled areas in the world. In the present circumstances the Indonesian Administration in East Timor is doing the utmost possible to allow our final reconciliation, because we have honestly to admit that we made a lot of mistakes by dreaming with the nice revolutionary slogans imported from Portugal.

Eritreia, Somalia, Sudan, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, ex-Yugoslavia, etc. are situations of horrible consequences for all humankind. Therefore, let our homeland of Indonesia be stable, contribute to world welfare and ready to be in a position to exhibit its humanism and potentials to permit the existence of a better world with no famine and far away from chaos and disorder.

I say again loudly that there are sufficient international juridical grounds to find firm evidence that Portuguese authorities during the decolonization of East Timor conceived and promoted conditions which brought on the civil war blood bath. It does not require great intelligence to compare the official Portuguese behaviour in Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, St. Thomas and Principe and Guinea (Bissau), exactly during the same period of decolonization.

I appeal to the civilized world which holds stability essential nowadays for peace, harmony and development, to help Indonesia improve its efforts on behalf of human rights. The promotion of human rights remains the main concern of the Indonesian government regardless of repeated unfounded allegations of violations, especially in East Timor. Since the integration of East Timor, the overall situation in the province in terms of human rights and development has grown more and more encouraging. Incidents that have taken place should be seen honestly as natural consequences of the dynamics of the development process. The fact that Indonesia welcomed the two recent visits of Mr. Amos Wako, Special Envoy of the UN Secretary General to East Timor is clear proof that the Indonesian government has nothing to hide, which any well-intentioned observer can see.

I saved for last the incidents of November 1991 at the Santa Cruz cemetery, where we had the painful misfortune to see our youth victimized. This is something we don't accept but, sadly, we will just have to continue to remember them as if they were still with us.

We have been careful to watch the reaction of the central government and not pay attention to "reports" made by the usual political opportunist sources, because those of us on the spot know much more than they.

The central government was totally correct in its investigation of the behaviour of the persons involved. Thoughtful inquiries were carried out with witnesses from all sides and 6 senior officers were dismissed or transferred. Eight other members of the armed forces will face court martial for individual involvement against orders. This proves to us that the Military Indonesian Judicial Forum is very severe in questions of insubordination. As a law-abiding state, Indonesia must be considered competent to show the East Timorese people in particular, and the Indonesian nation and the world in general, that incidents like this sometimes happen beyond the control of normal military commands responsible.

But, the question remains, however, why the demonstration at the cemetery, targeted at provoking a frontal confrontation with legal authorities responsible for public security in East Timor took place.

We may soon be able to establish the missing link (the factor not yet analyzed by the international community): the preparation of the Portuguese parliamentary visit to East Timor which 48 hours before was suddenly canceled due to childish reasons involving the desperate attempt to include on the Portuguese delegation a person who has been promoting the image of FRETILIN as the "sole and legitimate representative of the East Timor people." This missing link will be the public evidence that Indonesian authorities never prepared any "massacre" in East Timor.

Thank You.

EAST TIMOR-WARS of EXTERMINATION

ERA	PORTUGUESE GOVERNOR	DESCRIPTION
Nov 1860	Alfonso de Castro	Military columns against the various peoples of Western Timor Loro Sahe.
Apr 1861	idem	War against kingdom of Laku Loh
Spt 1861	idem	War against kingdom of Ulun Merah
1863		Campaigns against Eastern Timor Loro Sahe populations and captured of Kota Laga
1868	Francisco T.SILVA	Military campaign against kingdom of Kowa /Western Timor Loro Sahe
1886	A.LACERDA MAIA	Military attacks against kingdom of MAU BARA and people of DARO LARAN
Mar 1887		Portuguese Governor of Dilly(ALFREDO LACERDA was assassinated in the city of Silly by Timorese revolted with his using of men as horses to pull him on the rickshaw,using the whip.
1889	A.F. COSTA	Military columns against the Eastern Timor Loro Sahe.
1894	J.CELESTINO SILVA	Expedition against the people LAMAK HITU.
1895		Military column against several Western Timor Loro Sahe kingdoms.
		Attack to kingdom of OBO ULUN
		A strong expedition of 12.000 men launche against the kingdom of MANU FAHI
1896		Rekonstruction of the BATU GADEH FORT to be used as military command and Penal Colony.Expeditions against kingdoms of Kota Baba,Sanirin Kowa,Fatuk Mean,Lokeo,Dakolo Balobo,Loi Siba.
1898		Attacks against Kasa,Lausso and OSU KAI
Jne 1899		Columns of punishnent against KAI LAKU, ATSABE, ATA BAI;LEI MEAN;BEH BOI.
Oct 1900		Kingdom of Manu Fahi revolts against the Portuguese Wars of extermination.(Militareport dated in Dilly,Nov 30 1900 indicated 14296 men used in kingdom of Manu Fahi upraisal).
		Revolts from an extensive area from Kai Mauk to Manuk Mesah controlled by the Portuguese.Columns and expeditions against Aileu,Mau Lao Bohot,Dao Manu Farb Ulun, Ritah,Taleli,Ai Tutun and Ahu Rai.
Jan 1901		Attack to LETE FOHO.July attack to AILEU
Dec 1901		Revolt of Nunu Merk against Portuguese.
Jly 1902		Military expedition against SURO
Aug 1902		Military expeditions against people of LOLO TOI.
Mar 1904		Military attacks against KELIKAY(2200 men who decapitated 390 heads and captured 200 water buffalos.Rebellion against Portuguese at FUNAR.
Jun 1905		Rebellion against Portug-ese at Ai Tutun
Jan 1906		Portuguese power occupied Memo after a bloody massacre.

EAST TIMOR-WARS of EXTERMINATION

ERA	PORTUGUESE GOVERNOR	DESCRIPTION
May 1907		Kingdom of Manu Fahi revolts in a desperated resistence against the presence the Portuguese committing actrocities.Kingdom was temporarily quited after punishment.
Dec 1912		Last upraisal against Portuguese presence by King of Manu Fahi,Dom Boaventura de Soto Mayor.Terribly repression from the Portuguese.
1913		End of East Timorese resistance against Portugal,after around 200 years of continuous strugle for freedom and milenary peace.
See 1922		Intelectual revolution in Dilly,after Masonery ideals.
1945		Revolt to join West Timor People,as Indonesians.
1959		Massacres of VIKEKE,UATU LARI and UATO KARABAO(400-500 killed).